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592 593 [604] by the father's sister and treated as a daughter. She, on the other hand, thought of the father's sister as a special relative, one who was between the mother and the grandmother and was taught to speak of her as "my little grandmother." She was considered a special "holy woman" who on certain occasions, particularly when a brother or sister died, performed the rites of sending the spirit away.

All the women of the lodge addressed as "mothers" were treated with respect, and all contributed to the daughters' training.

Mother–son (*na'E'–miniks'*).—The same bonds of love and affection existed between the mother and son as was shared between the mother and daughter. It was based on a close kinship bond, though partially modified by sex dichotomy. As a small child he received the same affection as his sisters. The mother would make toys for his amusement, and, when he was three or four years old, she taught him to give her small items such as a few beads or other trinkets in payment for an especially well-decorated robe, moccasins, or leggings. His mother's brother or an older sibling would assist him in securing presents for the mother. His first knowledge about the clan would come [867] from the mother; she would tell him of men of the clan who had been brave in battle, had brought rain for the crops, had been especially kind to the old people of the clan, or had distinguished themselves in other ways. She taught him not to play in front of the platform at the head of the lodge where the ceremonial paraphernalia was kept and explained that, if he obeyed the older men and was industrious and brave, he would some day be custodian of the bundle. His mother encouraged him to join a Boys Society. The son, as a young single man, assisted in the buffalo hunt and helped his parents with the butchering. If the sister married, she was expected to bring her husband to the lodge. Then, when he married, he would live with his wife in another lodge. As a married man this deep affection for his mother and her sisters continued. When returning with meat, knowing she was without fresh meat, he would go to her lodge first and give her the choicest portions before returning to his wife's family. She received the most valuable mare taken on his first horse-stealing raid if his sisters were small. This bond of

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affection continued while his mother lived. Although it was considered improper for a man to be alone in the lodge with his daughter, nothing was thought of a son being alone with his mother.

Father–daughter (*tatE'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—The father was a respect relative providing he remained married to the daughter's mother, otherwise he was generally disregarded, since children of divorced mates were reared by the mother. He was expected to provide for the daughter and, in those families where the father and mother were successfully mated, co-operated with his wife in the training of the children. He avoided being alone with his daughter in the lodge.

Father–son (*tatE'–miniks'*).—A son treated his father with a respect which was sacred in character as he was informed at an early age of his father's fasting and war record and was taught to believe that the family's possession of property and good health was attributable to the father's fasting, respect for sacred objects, and kindness to the old people. The father was expected to provide meat for the family, but he took little part in the care of the son until he was old enough to understand the sacred character of certain objects in the lodge. When the son was old enough to play in the group games, he was encouraged to participate and was given game objects. He was encouraged to fast during the Okipa, if for only a day, and his father would loan him a small item from his personal bundle to wear while fasting. The father was an adviser but not a punishing member of the family. The mother or her brother would teach him to seek advice regularly of the father and present him with a small article of value each time the father offered him significant information. The father would explain that the members of his own clan were the son's "fathers" and that he should seek their advice also. By the time a young man was sixteen or seventeen years of age, the advice of distinguished males of the father's clan was frequently sought, and it was their duty, in the event that the son was killed while away from the village, to see that his skull was returned to the village and placed at one of the shrines.

Husband–wife (*mi'woro–mų'hE*).—The Mandan have several terms for a husband and wife. A man addresses his wife as

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and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mų'kaš–mi'cų'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–ptų'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan.

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision."

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached.

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice.

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except

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purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources.

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society.

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age.

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations.

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to

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further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize absolute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday behavior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group cooperation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

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It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

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White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

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There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

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177 parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.